

December 16, 1982

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

**HUNGER IN EAST TIMOR
CONTINUES**

ered the merits of several drugs and has recommended some for further development. The Commission provides its recommendations, and FDA's requirements, to PMA members and nonmembers.

Finally, the Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Association's Institute for Orphan Drugs provides research and manufacturing support to investigators. Two drugs will be the subject of new drug applications, and grant support and a supply of the drug have been pledged for a third.

The initiatives I have described do not stop here. The National Institutes of Health can now consider proposals from drug and device companies for orphan product development because of a recently promulgated regulation which permits "for profit" organizations to receive grants. FDA also has its own grants program for orphan product development. The Congress of the United States is considering two orphan drug bills. The bills under review now include a seven-year exclusive license for firms that market nonpatentable orphan drugs, and one of them also provides tax incentives for developers of drugs for rare diseases.

Despite all this activity, there is much left to accomplish in the field of orphan products. What we have done so far is to make a beginning. And when I ponder any project in its infancy, I often recall an encounter between Michael Faraday, who invented the Dynamo, and Benjamin Disraeli. When Faraday showed his Prime Minister the Dynamo, Disraeli looked at the forerunner of all generators and said, "What good is this?" Faraday replied, "What good is a baby, Mr. Disraeli?"

The initiative to make orphan products more available may still be in its infancy, but the pharmaceutical industry as a whole is mature. In fact, many observers are saying that we are standing on the brink of a second pharmaceutical revolution. Unlike the first, which largely depended upon work at the intercellular level, this second revolution is based on intracellular chemistry.

A recent pharmaceutical publication has provided a preview of drugs of the future and theorized that the 21st century will be the Age of Engineered Drugs, the Age of New Dosage Forms, the Age for Commercial Manufacturing of Drugs in Space, the Age of Computer Assisted Drug Design, and the Age of Recombinant DNA Technology. This article, like many of late, describes us today as being on the threshold of a new world of discoveries.

And only two months ago, I spoke before a symposium held in London to examine the scientific, political, economic, and social implications of this second pharmaceutical revolution. I discussed the great significance of the new technologies that are sweeping through the pharmaceutical world. I observed that its nations are becoming increasingly interdependent, and I emphasized the importance of good science in regulatory agencies that will be called upon to reach decisions about the many new products now being developed.

Our meeting today is precisely the sort of gathering we must hold if we to respond to the coming challenges. I am certain that Arnold Schwartz would approve of our assembling here today. To him, and to Mrs. Schwartz, we owe a continuing debt of gratitude. They recognized the importance of pharmaceuticals and health education, and they acted on that recognition. May we hold many more meetings in their honor.

Thank you. ●

● Mr. TSONGAS. Mr. President, for some time I have been deeply concerned over the tragic state of affairs in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, a predominantly Roman Catholic island territory which was invaded by Indonesia in late 1975 and continues to be occupied by military force in violation of international law. On April 28 of this year, after examining a good many recent accounts of serious human rights violations in East Timor, I introduced a resolution which was subsequently cosponsored by 16 of our colleagues. The resolution called upon President Reagan to encourage the Indonesian Government to allow greater access to East Timor by journalists and international relief. It called for steps to relieve the problems of many East Timorese who have not been permitted to leave the island to join relatives abroad. It also called for moves to bring about a political settlement that would restore peace to East Timor.

One month after I introduced this resolution, there appeared a detailed firsthand account by Philadelphia Inquirer journalist Rod Nordland, who spent 11 days in East Timor in May and appears to have travelled widely in the territory. Mr. Nordland's account, which has since received national attention, reported the existence of serious food shortages resulting from Indonesian military operations against timorese resistance. He reported at least some cases in which Indonesian military officials attempted to coerce villagers in an effort to hide the reality of these food shortages and corroborated previous accounts of serious human rights violations.

Since then, I have seen no convincing account that would contradict the major elements of Mr. Nordland's report. The precise extent of the problems is unclear but there seems to be little doubt that serious problems do exist.

In recognition of these conditions, and together with 17 of my Senate colleagues and 66 Members of the House of Representatives, I sent a letter to President Reagan on the October visit to Washington of Indonesian President Suharto. The reply from the Department of State was singularly uninformative, and did not even attempt to address several of the questions raised.

However, our distinguished colleague from Illinois, Foreign Relations Committee Chairman CHARLES PERCY, has recently announced that hearings would be held on the East Timor situation early in the new Congress. This will provide an excellent opportunity to address all pertinent issues. I commend Senator PERCY for his decision.

In the interim, however, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues disturbing new information that indicates a turn for the worse in East Timor. An October 28 report

from Agence France Presse (AFP) reprinted by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, for example, speaks of food shortages "from which children were the principal sufferers." Before I continue, it must be emphasized that the East Timorese already suffered a large-scale famine from 1978-80, the overall consequences of which are still unclear. The impact of new food shortages, then, must be seen in light of what these people have endured to date.

The AFP articles go on to report that:

Forcible populations movements in various parts of Timor and those suspected of connections with the FRETILIN independence movement are not allowed to move about freely or cultivate the land.

AFP concludes that these "regroupments" have caused food problems.

On another important matter, the AFP article once again draws our attention to the plight of thousands of Timorese political prisoners being held on the offshore island of Atauro, including "450 children under 5 years of age." The report adds that:

The prisoners live in crowded, unhygienic shanties and suffer from malnutrition and such diseases as gastro-enteritis, cholera and tuberculosis. Some of the internees were said to be reduced to eating roots.

But the December 4 edition of Australia's most respected daily, the Melbourne Age, goes further, stating that the eastern districts of East Timor are facing drastic food shortages. In one location cited, the Bagula area, the people are said to be "just waiting to die."

The Indonesian Government denies that these conditions exist, while it also denies reports of human rights violations. Amnesty International had its own response to some of these denials in a November 8 letter to the New York Times. I would only say that the fact that both the New York Times and the Washington Post attempted to visit East Timor but were denied entry by the Indonesian Government leads one to believe that Jakarta may have something to hide.

These recent reports portray a state of affairs that we cannot ignore. The means must be found to confound the Indonesian Government to provide full access to East Timor to a wide variety of international agencies, journalists and other investigative bodies. But in the end, it is more clear than ever that a political settlement guaranteeing the rights of all parties is the only way this conflict can come to a humane end.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I would like to include for the RECORD my letter of October 5 to President Reagan; the State Department response, the account from Agence France Presse and the Melbourne Age, and Amnesty International's letter to the New York Times.

The material follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., November 4, 1982.
Hon. PAUL E. TSONGAS,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR TSONGAS: The White House has asked me to respond to the letter of October 5 which you and your colleagues wrote to the President on the situation in East Timor.

I understand and appreciate the serious concerns which you have regarding this important issue. I can assure you that the Department of State and our mission in Indonesia share your interest in this matter, and we are doing everything which can practically be done to monitor the situation in East Timor and improve the conditions of the Timorese people.

I would like to take this opportunity to comment on several of the specific points raised in your letter.

We have been concerned, as you are, about the adequacy of food supplies in East Timor. We have examined this matter, both through firsthand visits to East Timor by officials of our mission and through discussions with others who have visited Timor recently, including other diplomats, journalists and representatives of international organizations. Based on this continued monitoring, we believe that there are adequate food supplies in East Timor, though there are isolated areas where distribution and other problems have led to temporary shortages. It appears that the Indonesian Government has moved swiftly and effectively to meet those shortages which existed or threatened, through the shipment of large stocks of corn from its own food stocks to East Timor.

In regard to the activities of international agencies, as you may know, three such organizations are currently active in East Timor, with the full cooperation of the Indonesian Government: the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the Catholic Relief Services (CRS). Each of these organizations, which enjoy routine access to East Timor, are conducting important programs aimed at meeting pressing human needs (including health and nutrition needs) and fostering the economic development of the region. We have recently received Congressional approval to provide \$500,000 to ICRC in response to their special appeal for support of their operations in Timor. We have also always stood ready to support these organizations in any way we usefully could, here or in Jakarta, in planning and obtaining Indonesian approval for their programs.

Concerning the question of outside access to East Timor, the record shows that the Indonesian Government has permitted greatly increased access by outside observers in the past year, including representatives of a number of Western media (including reporters of the Philadelphia Inquirer, the Wall Street Journal and Reuters); the international organization officials already mentioned; and a growing number of Jakarta-based foreign diplomats. It is our understanding that the Indonesian Government intends to continue this policy of permitting outside observers to visit the territory.

Regarding the political question which you have raised, it has been the consistent policy of this Administration (and indeed of each of the last three Administrations) to accept the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia, without acknowledging that an act of self-determination has taken place there. We believe this is the only policy which will permit us to pursue effectively those important humanitarian goals which you and your colleagues have enunciated and which we so strongly share. Our ultimate concern, like yours, is the welfare of the people of East Timor; we are convinced

that the policy we have chosen is the best way to meet that concern.

As you are aware, we maintain an ongoing dialogue with the Indonesian Government on this matter. It was discussed at a high level during the recent state visit of Indonesian President Soeharto. Officials of our mission have visited East Timor four separate times this year, and there will be a State Department official visiting there this month, in company with a mission officer.

As we continue our consideration of this matter, you can be assured that we will keep in mind the concerns which you and your colleagues have expressed.

Sincerely,

POWELL A. MOORE,
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations.

(From the Agence France Presse, Oct. 28, 1982)

FRETILIN GUERRILLAS STEP UP ATTACKS IN E. TIMOR

(By Gilles Bertin)

JAKARTA, Oct. 28.—Nationalist guerrillas in East Timor have stepped up their attacks on police posts, vehicles and other targets in a campaign of violence linked to next month's United Nations debate on the Indonesian annexation of the former Portuguese colony.

At least 15 people have been killed during the past three months by the guerrillas of the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor (FRETILIN), informed sources said here. About 40 houses were set on fire during the month of August as well as two schools where the teachers were not from East Timor. A group of 20 FRETILIN guerrillas carried out these attacks in the Viqueque District, killing a policeman. On August 21 several people were killed in an attack on a police post. A few days later the occupants of a jeep were killed in an ambush.

Reliable sources said that during August and September guerrillas mounted raids to procure food and weapons in the mountains between Bagula and Los Palos in the eastern part of the island.

A Roman Catholic priest familiar with East Timor said that a flare-up of guerrilla attacks was an annual occurrence before the U.N. vote. Informed sources said that during clashes with the guerrillas Indonesian troops seized American weapons dating from the Vietnam war. For the past two months no ship was allowed to dock in Timor until after it had been carefully searched, the sources said.

FRETILIN forces, estimated to be a few hundred strong, have been resisting the Indonesians since they took over East Timor seven years ago. They are mostly armed with weapons left behind by the Portuguese.

Reliable sources said that the number of internees on the island of Atauro, a few miles off the East Timor capital of Dili, has in the past six months increased from 3,500 to about 4,800. The prisoners are generally FRETILIN sympathisers and their families, including 450 children under five years of age. They live in crowded, unhygienic shanties and suffer from malnutrition and such diseases as gastro-enteritis, cholera and tuberculosis. Some of the internees were said to be reduced to eating roots. The sources said there was considerable tension between the internees and the original inhabitants of Atauro, who number about 4,000.

Experts from international organisations, who have worked in Timor, said that there was no famine there but that there were food shortages, from which children were

the principal sufferers. The Indonesian Army has carried out forcible population movements in various parts of Timor and suspects are not allowed to move about freely or cultivate the land. These forcible "regroupments" have caused food problems and a part of the population of East Timor has become dependent on external aid.

Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor appears to be extending its influence with 60,000 people being baptised in less than one year. Many animists, who account for about half the East Timor population, have chosen Catholicism in preference to the Moslem faith since the Indonesian authorities started putting pressure on them to choose a religion with a single god in line with the Indonesian official ideology, known as Pancasila.

Indonesian diplomatic efforts at the United Nations before the vote on East Timor, probably on November 9, have been concentrated particularly on West Africa, the Caribbean and Central America to ensure the maximum possible number of favourable votes. The Indonesian Government has sent one of its most distinguished diplomats, Ali Alatas, to New York to plead Jakarta's case. Informed sources here believe that Venezuela, Ecuador and the Gabon, which abstained in 1981, would this year back Indonesia. Three countries which voted against Indonesia last time—Haiti, Iran and Iceland—may abstain. Some other countries like Ruanda, Niger, Kenya, Santa Lucia and Costa Rica are still uncommitted.

In 1981, 54 countries voted for a Portuguese resolution condemning Indonesia, 42 against, and there were 46 abstentions.

(From the Melbourne (Australia) Age,
December 4, 1982)

EAST TIMOR CLERICS CLAIM FOOD SHORT (From Ian Davis)

CANBERRA.—People in the eastern provinces of East Timor are suffering drastic food shortages and widespread malnutrition, say four confidential reports from East Timor obtained by "The Age".

According to one report, from a Catholic priest, who has lived in East Timor for more than 10 years, "the food situation is so critical it is the worst I have ever seen."

Three of the reports say the main reason for the food shortages is the continued Indonesian security operations against the East Timor independence movement, Fretilin.

According to three of the reports, Fretilin, as recently as July, was conducting guerrilla operations involving up to 200 troops in one battle. The information about food shortages, security in East Timor and continued Fretilin operations conflicts with Indonesian Government claims about the East Timor situation.

Two of the reports say the conscription of East Timorese into the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor is preventing people from planting and harvesting crops, causing grain shortages.

As well, the Indonesians have forced East Timorese in the eastern half of the province out of the villages and into the larger towns in the area, to isolate them from Fretilin. The towns are so far from the villagers' fields that they can not continue farming," one report claims.

The four reports were prepared between April and August this year by Catholic and Protestant church officials. Three of the reports were made by Timorese, Indonesian and Portuguese churchmen, all of whom have spent more than 10 years in East Timor. These reports were sent to relief and aid organizations associated with the Catho-

lic church in Australia and the United States.

The other report was compiled by a seven-member delegation from the Protestant World Council of Churches which visited East Timor for four days in June. This report has not been released.

The World Council of Churches was given permission by the Indonesian Government in June, 1982, to send a delegation to East Timor. In its report, the delegation says it was accompanied throughout the trip by Indonesian officials. The members of the delegation were Dr. P. D. Lathulhamallo, who co-ordinated the visit, Mrs. Jenny Borden (Christian Aid), Dr. Helmut Gündert (Brot für die Welt), Rev. R. L. Turnipseed (Church World Service), Ms. Nancy Robinson (Church World Service), Dr. K. Y. SeoPark (CICARWS-WCC), and Dr. B. Ables (Interchurch Co-ordination Committee for Development Projects).

"The Age" was given the reports on condition that identities of those making the reports remain confidential because of fears for the safety of those involved.

The reports made independently, paint a consistent picture of food shortages, malnutrition and ill treatment of the Timorese. This contrasts with recent claims about conditions in East Timor made by the Australian and Indonesian Governments and by the former Prime Minister Mr. Whitlam, after a visit to East Timor in February and March.

One report from a churchman living in East Timor says: "There are certain areas that are still, up till August 1982, critically short of food."

A report from another churchman claims: "The kelaparan" (Indonesian for food shortage) truly is a fact. The worst food shortage area is in the eastern districts of East Timor. In the month of April, Baguia had no food at all. Since then they have had nothing at all."

The report says six other regional centres in the east—Laga, Lakuta, Viqueque, Quelicai, Uatulari and Uatucerbau—are suffering food shortages. "All these areas are experiencing real famine, but specially Baguia, where the people are just waiting to die. In the western districts there is a reasonable supply of food and with the exception of some areas there is no crisis."

According to another of the local churchmen's reports, Mr. Whitlam did not see the real situation in the areas he visited. "Mr. Whitlam during his short visit, in order to please the Indonesians, he travelled with helicopter, he could not see the real situation. Instead of visiting the regions, he has to obey the Indonesian Government, visiting only the localities which the Government wants him to visit."

Mr. Whitlam told the United Nations last month that he followed an itinerary set by the delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross. He said he flew in helicopters chartered by the committee to the offshore island of Atauro, three villages in the western region and four villages in the east.

The reports obtained by "The Age" contrast with the picture of East Timor painted by recent Western diplomatic reports. A report from Jakarta earlier this week, quoting Western diplomats said "fears that famine might be imminent in the area, were exaggerated".

The latest assessment of East Timor prepared by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs says: "Information to the Government does not support claims of famine or impending famine. There is always a possibility of localised food shortage and distribution problems. However, available information indicates food stocks held in the

province should be sufficient to cope with any emergency."

The Indonesian Government has been keen to paint a picture of East Timor returning to "normalcy" as its incorporation in Indonesia is accepted by the population. This was the basis of Indonesia's argument for removing East Timor from the UN agenda.

Reports of food shortages and continued large scale security operations in East Timor conflict with the Indonesian Government's claims.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 8, 1982]
"EXTRAORDINARY BRUTALITY" IN EAST TIMOR
(By Larry Cox)

To the Editor:

In an Oct. 14 news article, "Indonesia Defends Role in East Timor," Foreign Minister Kusumaatmadja is cited as saying that reports of human-rights abuses against residents of East Timor are "untrue."

Amnesty International has followed the human-rights situation in East Timor since the territory was invaded by Indonesian forces in December 1975, and we find the Foreign Minister's comment disturbing.

It has been evident to Amnesty International in investigating the situation in East Timor that human-rights violations occur there within the context of an occupation of extraordinary brutality in which a whole range of fundamental human rights have been denied the population.

We believe that the population of East Timor has been systematically denied the rights to freedom of expression, association, assembly and movement. Persons exercising their right to petition the government for redress of grievances have been arbitrarily detained. Movement and communication within and beyond East Timor has been tightly controlled.

We are also disturbed by the Indonesians' failure to investigate a number of cases of human-rights violations in East Timor.

One case involved "Operation Fence of Legs." Undertaken by Indonesian forces from July to September of 1981 with the aim of eliminating Fretilin forces (the movement for an independent East Timor which resisted the Indonesian invasion), its strategy was to deploy tens of thousands of Timorese to form human fences that converged on and flushed out remaining Fretilin forces.

Reports indicated that civilians enlisted for this operation were required to advance in front of Indonesian forces and were unarmed or armed only with primitive weapons. While it is not possible to gauge the number killed in the operation, it is clear that many did not return to their homes.

We also received extensive reports of torture of detainees during interrogation. Forms of torture described in those accounts include burning with red-hot irons and cigarettes, electric shocks to the genitals and other parts of the body, extraction of finger and toe nails with pliers and slashing with knives.

We have raised these concerns with the Indonesian Government. So far there has been no response.

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, D.C., October 5, 1982.

President RONALD REAGAN,
The White House
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We are deeply concerned over the tragic situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in late 1975 and continues to be the scene of tremendous human suffering. As you know, Indonesian

President Suharto will be making a State Visit to Washington on October 12 and 13. We believe that it is imperative that the Timor tragedy be accorded priority attention in meetings conducted by you and other United States officials with the Indonesian Presidential Party.

First, let us state that we recognize the strategic importance of Indonesia and United States concerns in this regard are understandable. Indonesia is a strong and close friend of the United States. We commend the Government of Indonesia for its expeditious assistance to many thousands of Indochinese "boat people" who have landed on Indonesian shores in recent years.

However, these important considerations cannot erase the situation in East Timor. Although events in East Timor have received comparatively little attention, that does not make past or present conditions there any less severe. It is widely acknowledged that there has been great loss of life since the Indonesian invasion. In more general terms, Amnesty International stated in a September 14 report to Congress that "it has become evident in the course of investigation into the situation in East Timor that those violations of human rights which Amnesty International seeks to expose occur within the context of an occupation of extraordinary brutality in which a whole range of fundamental human rights have been denied the population."

A first-hand approach appearing in the Philadelphia Inquirer on May 28 underscored the existence of serious food shortages, in good measure the result of 1981 Indonesian military operations against Timorese resistance. This is an especially important point, we believe, in light of past and possible present use by Indonesian forces of U.S. origin materiel.

Indonesian authorities are clearly reluctant to concede that such problems exist. But food shortages in at least some parts of the territory threaten the well-being of a sizable portion of the Timorese population—people barely recovered from the disastrous famine of 1978-80.

Mr. President, we believe that appropriate international relief agencies should be allowed to effectively address East Timor's current food and medical problems, while Timorese villagers should be allowed to resume normal farming activities and leave the "resettlement centers" set up by the Indonesian military.

We believe that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which began to conduct prison visits in East Timor earlier this year and participated in an emergency relief program from October 1979 through April 1981, should receive staunch United States support as the organization seeks to diversify its activities in the territory. In general, international access to East Timor should be expanded. Those waiting to reunite with family members in Australia and Portugal should be helped to leave East Timor without further delay. A list of those in need of special assistance, and about whom we are particularly concerned, is attached.

It is our belief that the means should be found to convince Jakarta to agree to an internationally-negotiated settlement that would guarantee Indonesia's legitimate security interests while providing the people of East Timor with the political rights to which they are entitled, both morally and under international law. The evidence suggests that in the absence of such a solution, this tragic state of affairs will continue indefinitely.

Mr. President, we believe that it is of vital importance that your concern and that of

your Administration be transmitted to President Suharto on these issues as well as on the broad question of human rights in East Timor.

Sincerely,

Paul E. Tsongas, Carl Levin, John H. Chafee, Max Baucus, Christopher J. Dodd, Arlen Specter, Thomas F. Eagleton, Dale Bumpers, Donald W. Riegle, Jr., Alan Cranston, William Proxmire, David Pryor, John Heinz, Howard M. Metzenbaum, Claiborne Pell, Edward M. Kennedy, John Melcher, Mark O. Hatfield.

U.S. Senators.

Tony P. Hall, Bill Green, Matthew F. McHugh, William Lehman, Julian C. Dixon, Anthony C. Bellenson, Barney Frank, William R. Hatchford, Tom Harkin, Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Walter E. Fauntroy, Howard Wolpe, Don Bonker, Anthony Toby Moffett, Edward J. Markey, Joe Moakley, Ted Weiss, Richard L. Ottinger, Robert A. Roe, Mervyn M. Dymally, Shirley Chisholm, Berkley Bedell, William M. Brodhead, Thomas J. Downey, Louis Stokes, Jerry M. Patterson, Bob Edgar, Charles E. Schumer, Les AuCoin, Mickey Leland, Byron L. Dorgan, Robert Garcia, Patricia Schroeder, Mike Lowry, James L. Oberstar, Martin Olav Sabo, Thomas A. Daschle, David R. Obey, William H. Gray, III, Claudine Schneider, Dale E. Kildee, David E. Bonior, Sam Gejdenson, Thomas M. Foglietta, Paul Simon, Don Edwards, Parren J. Mitchell, Millicent Fenwick, Michael D. Barnes, Morris K. Udall, William J. Hughes, Phillip Burton, Tony Coelho, Fortney H. Stark, Ronald V. Dellums, Henry J. Nowak, Doug Walgren, Jonathan B. Bingham, Lawrence J. DeNardis, Dennis E. Echart, Vic Fazio, James M. Shannon, Gerry E. Studds, Stewart B. McKinney, John L. Burton, Donald J. Pease.

U.S. Representatives.

TURKEY MOVES TOWARD DEMOCRACY

● Mr. HEINZ. Mr. President, I recently received a copy of Turkish Ambassador Elekdag's article that appeared in the Wall Street Journal presenting an optimistic forecast of greater democracy in Turkey in the days ahead. Ambassador Elekdag has responded to some of the criticisms of the new constitution in this article, a constitution that was recently passed by the Turkish electorate. He also points to a number of reforms that we can expect to see enacted in Turkey in the coming years. Although I do not fully share his analysis, I think it is worthy of Senators' attention, and I ask that it be printed at this point in the RECORD. The article follows:

(From the Wall Street Journal, Wednesday, Nov. 3, 1982)

TURKEY MOVES TOWARD DEMOCRACY (By Sukru Elekdag)

On Sunday, Turkey will take a step in restoring a pluralistic parliamentary democracy. The people will vote on the draft constitution that has been prepared by the consultative assembly and recently approved with some revisions by the five-member national security council.

According to the announced timetable, political-party life will be reactivated after the

referendum. A new law on the electoral system and political parties will be enacted, and general elections will be held in either the fall of 1983 or the spring of 1984.

The constitution is expected to open a new era of stability, prosperity and workable parliamentary democracy.

Many Turks believe that the constitution of 1961 and the proportional representation system were largely responsible for the political instability of the late 1970s; that system did not give adequate powers to the executive branch and the president, did not clearly define the duties and the powers of the state organs, failed to balance the rights of the individual with those of society and encouraged the proliferation of political parties. The result was ambiguous election results.

The resulting weak coalition governments were ineffective in dealing with economic and social problems. The executive was powerless to maintain law and order, counter subversive activities and stem the rising tide of terrorist killing. A constantly deadlocked parliament could not enact badly needed legislation and could not even elect a president in six months and after 136 ballots.

Turkey's political paralysis was also caused by the stalemate between the two major political parties, the Republican People's Party (RPP) under Bulent Ecevit and the Justice Party (JP) under Suleyman Demirel. The two parties refused to cooperate in forming a strong coalition government and they couldn't govern effectively when they formed coalitions with small, extremist parties.

By all accounts, Turkey by 1980 was on the verge of chaos. The increased polarization of left and right was accompanied by a wave of terrorist killings, reaching more than 25 a day by late 1980. Schools and universities almost ceased to function as they became the focal point of terrorist activities. Journalists, politicians, businessmen and judges, together with their families, were under constant threat from either left- or right-wing terrorists. Inflation reached 130%. Ideologically motivated strikes paralyzed industries already beset with great problems due to the severe balance-of-payments bottleneck and the resulting difficulties in importing raw materials and spare parts.

TOTAL MARTIAL LAW

On Sept. 12, 1980, the armed forces assumed control of the government; martial law, already imposed in some parts of the country by the civilian administration, was extended to the remainder. A newly formed national security council, composed of the commanders of the four services and headed by Chief of Staff Gen. Kenan Evren, took the reins of government and suspended all political party activities.

The military council declared its resolve to restore a viable and efficient parliamentary democracy and to eradicate the causes of instability. A schedule for return to civilian rule was established, a civilian interim government was formed and a consultative assembly of 160 members was created to prepare a constitution and act as the temporary legislative body.

During the past two years dramatic progress has been achieved. Law and order have been restored, terrorism has been stamped out and there has been economic progress.

The referendum this Sunday on the draft constitution indicates that the present rulers abide strictly and honorably by the timetable that they set.

The draft constitution fully safeguards human rights and fundamental freedoms; insures equality before the law, free elections, separation of powers and an inde-

pendent judiciary; incorporates freedom of the press and labor rights, and guarantees pluralism of political parties.

The free-wheeling debates in the consultative assembly on the draft constitution have been widely echoed in the mass media, and independent personalities, political groups, former politicians, professional associations and labor unions have expressed their views extensively.

Some criticism focused on the increased powers accorded to the executive branch and the president. Under the proposed constitution, the president has the right to ask for a referendum, dissolve the parliament and call new elections under well-defined rules to prevent the sort of paralysis that has occurred in the past. He can chair the council of ministers for the proclamation of state emergencies, and he can nominate the judges of the highest courts, as well as individuals to fill several other high civil posts.

These increased powers of the executive reflect the paralysis of the past. Scholars note that the powers of the Turkish president under the new constitution are not as sweeping as those of an American president and are comparable to those of French president.

Certain provisional articles of the new constitution have drawn some fire from the Turkish and foreign press.

The first article provides that if the constitution is approved in the referendum, Gen. Evren, the current head of state, will automatically become president. Critics argue that a presidential election should be held separately following the referendum. These views seem reasonable, but they discount the fact that Gen. Evren is extremely popular in Turkey. Objective non-Turkish observers are virtually unanimous in their assessment that if a separate vote were taken on the presidency, Gen. Evren would be elected overwhelmingly.

The link between the election of this demonstrably popular statesman to the presidency and the approval of the new constitution will, it is believed, give citizens greater motivation to accord the constitution full and careful consideration.

INTO THE HANDS OF ANARCHISTS

A second provision that has prompted some controversy effectively prohibits political activity by the past leaders of all the former main parties for 10 years and prohibits all other members of the last parliament from forming new parties or holding any executive office in any new parties. Gen. Evren recently outlined the thinking that underlies this provision:

"I have no doubt that the temporary ban on political activities imposed on former party leaders and members of central executive committees of the parties will be deemed a reasonable measure. Some of these persons are currently on trial in regular courts for common crimes and offenses. . . .

"Moreover these former politicians who formerly held high political offices not only failed even to think of the necessary measures to prevent the situation that prompted the armed forces' intervention . . . but also failed for months to elect a president. These politicians paralyzed the parliament and allowed the country to fall into the hands of anarchists. They are, therefore, living under a weight of guilt that cannot be removed. We are striving to establish a healthy democratic regime in Turkey.

"It is absolutely necessary to keep these politicians, who managed to derail our democracy twice, in 1971 and in 1980, out of active political life to insure the laying of foundations for the new era. It goes without